NOTES

UPON

Stephen College.

Grounded Principally upon his own

Declarations and Confessions,

And freely submitted to

PUBLIQUE CENSURE.

By **Roger L'Estrange.**

LONDON,

Printed for *Joanna Brome*, at the *Gun* at the West-end of St. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1681.

To the Reader.

IT *is not the part of a* Chriſtian, *nor indeed of a* Man, *to Inſult upon the Miſerable, either in their* Memories, *or in their* Perſons: *Beſide that the Criminal here in queſtion has already ſatisfied Publique Juſtice, and is gone to his Place to receive according to his Works. This does not hinder yet, but that a man may honeſtly endeavour the putting of a Check to thoſe Clamorous Out-crys that are daily ſent forth againſt the Government upon this occaſion; as if the whole buſineſs of* College *were only a* Perjurious Combination *of* Papiſts *againſt* Proteſtants, *in the Perſon of that Wretched Malefactor; and the* Proteſtant Religion *to ſtand or fall with the* Proteſtant Joyner. *It is the Intent now of theſe Papers, to lay open the* Malice, *and the* Falſhood *of theſe Calumnies*: *Not ſo much for the* Vindication *of the* Proceeding, *as for the* Diſabuſing *of the* Common People; *for the* Beſt Argument for Authority is the Reaſon of the Laws; and in theſe Caſes the Vigorous Execution of them upon the *Seditious*, is the only effectual Remedy.

It is not that I pretend to Illuſtrate the Juſtice of the

Court, *or of the* Verdict, *by any Additional Remarques of my own, but effectually (upon other Grounds and Evidences) to bring the Offender to a new hearing; wherein I shall remit my self to the Judgment and Conscience of any Indifferent Reader, whether there be not Matter sufficient, from whence fairly to Infer, and to Presume him Guilty of the most material Parts of his Accusation, even without the aid of any thing that was produc'd against him at his Tryal.*

As for those that are curious to be more particularly inform'd, I must refer them to the Printed Tryal it self; and so I shall Close up my Preface with my Lord Chief Justices Opinion upon the Verdict.

Lord Chief Justice (to the Pris'ner.) These things when I look upon them, and consider the complexion of your defence, it makes an easie Proof have Credit. But I think there was a full Proof in your Case; yet I say, if there had been a great deal less Proof, the Jury might with Justice have found you *Guilty*. And because you now declare your self *Innocent* of all you are charged with, I think my self bound to declare here in Vindication of the Country, and in Vindication of the Justice of the Court, that it was a *Verdict* well given, and to the satisfaction of the Court, and I did not find my Brothers did dislike it. This I say to you out of Charity, that you may incline your mind to a submission to the Justice that hath overtaken you, and that you may enter into Charity with all men, and prepare your self for another life.

NOTES

NOTES

UPON

Stephen College.

§. 1. The Proceeding against College Represented as a Design against the Protestant Religion.

THE main stress of the Cause here in Controversie, lies upon a Pretended Zeal for *Religion*, and in such a manner too, as if the very *Name* of a *Protestant* were a *Superseded* as for a *Traytor*, and an Exemption from the Ordinary Methods of *Law* and *Justice*. [*This Design* (says *College*) *is not only against* Me, *but against* **all the Protestants.** *Tryal*, p. 5.] And again [*This is a most Horrid Conspiracy to take away my life*; and it will not stop here; for it is against **all the Protestants in** England. *Ibid.* p. 6.] [*'Tis time to have a Care* (says *Aaron Smith*) *when our* **Lives** *and* **Estates** *and* **All** *are beset here.* Ibid. p. 13.] [*My Lord* (says *College* again) *I do not question but to prove this one of the Hellishest Conspiracies that ever was upon the face of the Earth: And these*

these the most Notorious Wicked Men; an absolute design **to destroy all the Protestants in** *England, that have had the Courage to oppose the Popish Plot. Ibid.* p. 36.] And then in his last Speech, [*I am as certainly Murder'd by* the hands *of the Papists as Sr.* Edmundbury Godfrey *himself was, though the thing is not seen.*] And once again in his other Speech, Printed for *Edith College*, [*I dye* (says he) *by the hands of the Enemies of the Great God, his Christ, his Servants, his Gospel, and my Country, to which I willingly submit, and earnestly pray mine may be the last* **Protestants Blood** *that Murdering Church of* Rome *may shed in* Christendom.]

It is no wonder if the Ringing of this Emphatical Reflection [*the Blood of* **Protestants**; *a Design upon* **all the Protestants** of *England*, &c. over and over in the Ears of the Multitude, create **Unquiet Thoughts**, and work some extraordinary Effects upon the minds of the common People. It will be well therefore to ask *Stephen College* what he means by that *Protestant Religion* that is so much *Endanger'd*; and *who* and *where* those *Papists* are, upon whom he Charges this *Hellish Conspiracy:* for we have none as yet in sight that can fall within the compass of his Challenge; but *his Majesty himself*, and the *Ordinary Ministers of Justice* acting according to the *Known Laws*, and in the *Regular Methods of Judicial Proceedings.* Now upon a due Examination of this matter, there will be found a great difference betwixt *Colleges Protestants*, and *Ours*; and betwixt *Our Papists* and *His*: So that the Snare lies in the double acceptation of the *Word*, by which they labour to Impose upon the World, that the *Schismatiques* are the *only True-Protestants*, and those of the *Church* of *England*, in a *Confederacy* against them with the *Papists:* But we shall take *Colleges Religion* as he has deliver'd it with his own lips; and gather from thence what

what may be the *Cauſe*, and the *Profeſſion* that he contends for.

---

§. 2. The meaning of Colleges Proteſtants.

I *Was ever a* Proteſtant; *(ſays* College*) I was* born *a* Proteſtant; I have *liv'd* ſo, and ſo, by the Grace of God, I'le *dye: Of* the Church of England, *according to the* Beſt Reformation *of the Church, from all* Idolatry, *from all* Superſtition, *or any thing that is contrary to the Goſpel of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour.* Colleges laſt Speech.

In this Clauſe he Declares himſelf upon his Death, to be a *Proteſtant of the Church of England*, according to the *Beſt Reformation*, &c. Now there is *No Church of England* but that which is Eſtabliſhed by *Law*, both in *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*; unleſs you will make the *Diſſenting Proteſtants*, to be *Aſſenters*, and *Conſenters*; and *Feake's*, *Owen's*, *Ralphſon's*, *Baxter's*, *Meade's*, *Jenkins's Separate Congregations* to be *ſeverally the Church of England*; which no man certainly in his Right Wits will pretend to do. So that either he dy'd a True Son of the *Eſtabliſhed Church of England*, according to the Genuine Import of the Expreſſion; (and as moſt manifeſtly he would have it thought, he did) or elſe his Deſign was to go off with a *Deſperate Equivocation* betwixt his Teeth, if he was any other than what he Pretended to be: and it comes all to a *Caſe*, as to the *Truth* of his *Profeſſion*, whether ye take him the *One* way, or the *Other*. There may be Another Note upon it, which is, that he would give to underſtand by This Profeſſion that he had always *Liv'd*, and that now

now he *Dy'd*, the *ſame ſort of Proteſtant*; which is a *Point-Blank Contradiction* to that which now follows.

Upon the Sheriffs Deſiring him, for the ſatisfaction of the World, to declare what Church he meant; whether *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, or the Church of *England*; or *what?* His anſwer was [*Good* Mr. *Sheriff*, *for your ſatisfaction*, *for Twenty years and above*, *I was under the* Presbyterian Miniſtry, *till His Majeſties Reſtauration. Then*, *I was Conformable to the Church of* England, *when that was Reſtor'd*; *and ſo continu'd*, *till ſuch time as I ſaw* Perſecution *upon the* Diſſenting People, *and undue things done in their* Meeting-Places. *Then I went among them*, *to know what kind of People thoſe were*; *and I take God to Witneſs*, *ſince that time I have uſed their* Meetings, *viz. the* Presbyterians; others *very* ſeldom, *and the Church of* England. *Laſt Speech.*

By this it appears that *College* was a *Presbyterian before* the Late Rebellion, as well as quite *thorough* it. He ſaies nothing, what brought him over to the Church of *England* at laſt; but that it was the *Perſecution* of the *Diſſenters* that carried him off again: And yet he told us but juſt before, that he was of *That Reformation* which was Freeſt from *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*; though there was nothing of that we ſee in this *Pretended Cauſe* of his *Relapſe*. The Remainder of this Paragraph is *Myſterious*, and *Perplext*; and there is too much *Reaſon* to fear that it was Intricated on purpoſe that he might be *Underſtood one way*, and *Mean another*. But however, if there be any thing to be made out of it at all, it is, that he dy'd of the *Presbyterian* Perſuaſion. I would not force any thing, to Diſcredit the words of a Dying man; but if any man can reconcile this Paſſage, either to it ſelf, or with ſeveral other Expreſſions of his in Priſon, ſome two or three days before his death, they will do him a Kind,

Kind, and a Charitable Office; for I muſt confeſs, I cannot bring them to any ſort of Conſiſtence.

A matter of two or three days before his Execution, two Divines of eminent Piety and Worth, gave the Priſoner a Viſit, and among other Diſcourſes ſuitable to his Condition, and the occaſion, It was ask'd him, Q. *What Church are ye of?* A. Of the Church of *England.* Q. *As by Law Eſtabliſh'd?* A. No, I am not. Q. *How d'ye mean the Church of* England *then? A Presbyterian?* A. No. Q. *An Independent?* A. No. Q. *An Anabaptiſt?* A. No. Q. *A Quaker?* A. No. Q. *Where's that Church in* Chriſtendom *then, that you will own your ſelf a Member of?* A. That's to my ſelf; I will not tell ye. And he gave at another time his Reaſon for't. *If it were known* (ſaith he) *what Church I am of, my faults would be laid upon my whole Church.* How does this agree now with his Profeſſion at the Place of *Execution?* Or where ſhall we find that *Individuum Vagum* of *Colleges Proteſtant?*

There were ſome Circumſtances concerning my Lady *Rocheſter*, of which hereafter; and others grounded upon the Information of a *Somerſet-ſhire* Gentleman, that have prevail'd upon many People to take him for a *Papiſt*, which Information runs thus.

That the *Informant* Lodging at the Houſe *of one* P. *a Victualler in* Wich-ſtreet, *in* Michaelmas *Term*, 1677. *there came into the Room where he was* (*upon a* Sunday *in the Evening*) *a certain Perſon who was called by the name of* College; *and ſitting down there, enter'd into a diſcourſe concerning the Lord of* Rocheſter, *whereupon the Informant told* College *that he heard the Lady* Rocheſter *was turn'd* Papiſt; *who thereupon demanded,* what he meant by a Papiſt? *to which he anſwer'd, One that maintain'd the Tenents of the Church of* Rome, *mentioning ſome of them; as* Pur-

gatory, Prayers to Saints, *&c. whereupon the other undertook to defend the ſaid Tenents, and with great Vehemence told him, that he would bring him Books the next day that ſhould overthrow all Arguments to the contrary: And told him farther, that his name was* College, *and not* College; *and that he had wrought for my Lord of* Rocheſter *at* Eumore: *But the Informant never ſaw him before, nor ſince, only his Landlord told him that he was a* Joyner, *and liv'd at the back-ſide of his Houſe.*

Colleges Anſwer to this Point was, that he believ'd this might be his *Brother*, who was a *Joyner* by *Trade*, and *dy'd* a *Papiſt*, in *October*, 1678. He wrote his name *Gollege*; Lodg'd near *Wich ſtreet*, and (as he conceiv'd) had done work for my Lord *Rocheſter* at *Eumore*; which ſeems to have been the ground of that miſtake. Beſide that, *College* had ſeveral times Confeſs'd that he had *ſtrong and frequent Impulſes on his ſpirit againſt Popery*: Inſomuch that if he did but ſee any book in defence of it, he would preſently ſet all his work aſide to get it anſwer'd; declaring himſelf alſo againſt it at the place of Execution, in theſe words, [*I do with all my ſoul, and did ever ſince I knew what Religion was, Abhor and Deteſt the Church of* Rome, *as Pernicious and Deſtructive of Humane Society.*]

I ſhall leave it now to the Readers choice whether a *Papiſt*, or *not?* Although for my part, I am ſtrongly perſuaded of the *Negative*; but what kind of *Proteſtant* to make of him, we are yet to ſeek. We ſhall ſee next how he ſtood affected to the Church of *England*; but ſo as to ſeparate his *Opinions* from his *Practices*, which are reſerv'd for another place.

He received his *Sentence*, *Aug.* 18. and *Suffer'd* upon the 31. In this *Interim* the Biſhop of *Oxford* provided all that was poſſible for his Relief and Conſolation, with infinite

infinite Compaſſion and Honour; appointing ſeveral eminent Pious and Learned Divines to Adminiſter unto him in his Diſtreſs. The Reverend Dr. *Marſhal* went to him firſt, who being call'd away by bus'neſs, Dr. *Hall* ſupply'd his place, from whoſe hand he receiv'd the Bleſſed Sacrament ſoon after his Sentence; but his Devotion-duties were ſtill diſtracted with ſome interjected Excurſions of his own; and he was heard to ſay, that *as he did not diſdain the Prayers of the Church, ſo he did not delight in ſuch Prayers, neither could he joyn heartily with thoſe that did not pray by the* Spirit. It was obſerved by one of theſe Reverend Gentlemen that aſſiſted him, that when he came to the Prayers for the *King*, *Queen*, and the *Biſhops*, inſtead of *Amen*, he ſaid *Lord have mercy upon them*, though he joyn'd in an *Amen* to all the reſt. Two days before his Execution, one of them deſir'd him to prepare himſelf for the Holy *Euchariſt*, to whom he return'd this Anſwer. *It is no more than a Shell and Form of your own making; as if I eat a piece of Bread, and drank a glaſs of Wine, and at the ſame time remember'd my Saviour.* In this manner he refus'd it: Nor would he ſuffer this Gentleman to pray with him at all upon the day of his Execution; declaring that nothing gave him ſatisfaction but *Extemporary Prayer*. The Doctor Adminiſter'd to him by the *Liturgy*, and ſo did Dr. *Marſhal* pray with him likewiſe; but ſtill he would have ſallies alſo of his own. Little *Schiſmatical Janeway* tells a long ſtory, (and againſt himſelf too) (*Num.* 42.) where he ſays that *College was urg'd with divers Arguments to make a Publique Confeſſion*; whereas it was only propounded to to him to Confeſs, *Conditionally*, and not *Abſolutely*, as he maliciouſly repreſents it. True it is, that he gave hopes at firſt of ſome tractable inclinations toward the Entertainment of the *Liturgy*; but upon *Munday morning*

there was found with him a certain unknown *Quaker*; and from that time till the *next Wedneſday* (the day of his Execution) he was harden'd againſt all Attempts; and this Obſtinacy of his was ſaid to ariſe from a ſuggeſtion of the *Quakers*, that without daſhing the Credit of thoſe Witneſſes, the Proteſtant Cauſe would be in danger to be loſt. He preſs'd very earneſtly that *Titmarſh, the Preaching-Anabaptiſt-Tanner*, might come and Pray with him; and he was privately ſent for, but not ſuffer'd to come at him.

You have here an account of the *Proteſtant-Joyners Religion* from his own lips, which is Reſolv'd at laſt into a meer *Enthuſiaſtical Whimſie*. The *Quaker* pleaſes him; the *Anabaptiſt* pleaſes him; and yet he is neither the *one* nor the *other*, nor a *Presbyterian*; nor an *Independent*; nor a *Church-of-England-man*, and yet a Friend to *all* but the *Right*; and Conciliable even to thoſe Opinions that are yet at an Inconciliable Variance one with another. Let the Reader now determine under theſe Circumſtances, whether *that Proteſtant Perſuaſion* that makes ſuch a noiſe in this Controverſie, be a *Religion* or a *Faction*; or how it is poſſible either to *Deſtroy* or to *Defend that Religion* which is no where to be *found*.

---

§. 3. What is meant by the Papiſts in Conſpiracy againſt Colleges Proteſtants.

THE *Proteſtant Joyner* has left us at a great loſs in the fore-going Section, about the meaning of his *Proteſtant Religion*: But then he makes ſome amends for't in telling us very plainly what he means by the *Papiſts*.

Papiſts. It is a part of his *Charge*, That he reckon'd the *Church*, the *King*, and *all his Adherents* for *Papiſts*; and we have his own Words and Papers to prove every jot as much as that amounts to, even to the minuteſt Circumſtances of the Accuſation.

[*This* (ſays he) *is not the firſt time, my Lord, the Papiſts have deſign'd to take away my life; though it be the firſt time they went about to take it* away by a *Law*. Tryal. p. 39. What is this now to ſay, but that the Ordinary Miniſters of Juſtice, in the Orderly Execution of their Duties, are *Murtherers* and *Papiſts*? And it is yet more explicitly ſet forth in the *firſt Section*, as we have ſeen already. How often has he been heard, even in the preſence of Mr. *Harleton* of St. *Pauls Church-yard*, to whom he appeals from Mr. *Muſters's Evidence*, that *old* **Rowly** (his *Cypher* for the *King*) *was a Papiſt*? and it was his common diſcourſe in *Coffee-Houſes* at a venture, as numbers of Perſons are able and ready to juſtifie, if need ſhould require it. What's the meaning of his drawing the *King* with *Two Faces* in his *Raree Show*, *one* towards *Popery*, the *other* towards *Proteſtantiſm*? And the *Two Houſes* at his Majeſties *Back*, *in a Cheſt of Rome* (as he calls it) in the *Ballad*? What's the meaning of the *Engliſh Clergy* Riding *Tantivy* after a *Jeſuite* in *another* of his *Prints*? With theſe words of Explanation, **Room for the Church**: **For Rome Boys**: with this Conceit at the *Church-door*, **Out Phanatiques**; **In, Popery**: And the *Biſhop of Bath and Wells* Perſonated in it, with a *Patch* on his cheek, and the mark upon him of a *Church-Papiſt*? Or what ſay ye of the *ſame Biſhop again*, *kiſſing the Popes Toe* in *another* of his Pieces, Entitled **Hats for Caps**; with the whole *Hierarchy* in't, making Court to *his Holineſs* for *Preferment*? And then there's the Learned device of a *Scale* to the *Papacy*, 1. *Servitor.* 2. *Pupil.* 3. *Bat-*

3. *Batchelors.* 4 *Maſter.* 5. *Prieſt.* 6. *Doctor.* 7. *Dean.* 8. *Biſhop.* 9. *Cardinal.* 10. *Pope.* With theſe words to't. [*The Gradual way to make a Pope Infallibly: All done by the Sign of the Croſs, and a little School Conjuring.* Here's abundantly enough to ſhew *What*, and *Who* they are that he calls *Papiſts*, without need of any other Evidence or Explication. But it will be ſaid perhaps that theſe *Pictures*, and eſpecially the *Raree Show* are not yet prov'd to be *Colleges.*

§. 4. The Libellous Pictures, and Particularly the Raree Show prov'd to be Colleges.

MY *Lord*, (ſays College) *as to the Papers Charg'd upon me to be mine, I declare I know not of them.* Tryal. pag. 74. *I cannot deny but that they were in my Houſe; but that I was the* Author, *or did take them in, is as great a Miſtake as ever was made.* Ibid. *I know nothing of the* Printing *of them, nor was I the* Author *of them.* Ibid. *I do declare I know nothing of the* Original, *the* Printer, *nor the* Author. *p.* 75. There's a great deal more of this ſtuff in the *Tryal*, to the ſame purpoſe; but I ſhall lay no hold of any thing he ſays in his *Defence*, ſave where he *Confeſſes:* But it will be allow'd, I hope, that ſome weight might be laid upon what he delivers in that which is publiſh'd under the Title of *A True Copy of the Dying Words of Mr.* Stephen College, *left in Writing under his own hand, and confirmed by him at the time of Execution*, Aug. 31. 1681. *at* Oxford, *Publiſh'd by his own Relations, and Printed for* Edith College.

As to the Printed Papers (ſays he) *which* Dugdale *produced in the Court, I do declare, I never ſaw them, call'd the*

the Raree Show, *and* Intercepted Letter [in his hand] *before that time*, (the meaning of these words [*in his hand*] I do not understand) *and therefore* could *not, and* did *not* decypher *any of the Pictures to him. It's utterly false. I was not the* Author *of those Verses call'd the* Raree Show, *neither do I know who* was, *or the* Printer, *or ever own'd my self the* Author *of either of them Papers to him in my life.*

Now by this train of wild Circumlocutions, a body would think that *College* had been wholly Innocent of any hand in the Promoting of that Scurrilous and Malicious Libel, especially considering some passages of his in the other Speech that was Printed for *T. Basset. I take God to witness* (says he) *and do freely acknowledge, I have sought my God with tears several times, to inform me if so be I had with any* Word *transgressed at any time.*] He does not find himself Guilty it seems, of so much as one *Word* amiss, but appears to purge himself upon his *Death*, as to that particular, which naturally resolves into this Conclusion; that either he had nothing to do with that Paper, or otherwise that he approv'd the Design and Contents of it, though one of the most Insolent Pieces of Seditious Ribaldry that ever saw the light. [*Monstrous foul Beast, Thief, Child of Heathen* Hobbs.] This is the Language of the *Protestant Joyner* to his *Sovereign*. Let the world judge by this of *his Religion*, and of *theirs* too that side with him; and in so doing, become Abettors and Partakers of his Crimes. But we shall now make it as clear as the light it self, that he went off the Stage with a sad account to answer for upon this very Point.

First, He own'd to Mr. *Atterbury*, the Messenger, *all the Papers that were found in his House* to be his *own*, whereof the *Raree Show* was *one*; telling him moreover, that *If there was any Treason in those Papers, the Wisest*

man

man in England *was miſtaken.* And ſo ſays *Aaron Smith* in his Paper of *Inſtructions* to him at *Oxford.* [*The* Raree Show, *&c. and the* Pictures *are not Treaſon.*] Taking for granted that the *Raree-Show*, &c. would infallibly be made out againſt him.

The *Deſign* of this *Raree Show*, drawn with a Pencil upon *Dutch Paper* in *Black-lead*, was found, it ſeems, lying upon his Table, and afterwards mis-lay'd. So that *College* dodg'd them upon that point, at the Tryal, and diſown'd it in theſe words [*I am ſure you could never find the* Original *of any ſuch thing in my Houſe.*] But though this was a *point-blank denial* of a *Truth*; there is this to be ſaid yet in Extenuation of it, that his Life was at ſtake, and he made the beſt of his Plea. But this is no Excuſe yet for his *Double-dealing* after his *Sentence*, and upon the place of *Execution.* He was Interrogated in the Caſtle ſome few days before he ſuffer'd, whether he did not with his own hand draw the deſign for the Ballad of *A Raree-Show?* and whether *that very Draught* was not taken with the other Prints, in his *Houſe?* His Anſwer was, that *he was neither the* Author *of the Verſes or Ballad, nor did he* know *either the* Author, *or the* Printer. And then for the *Deſign*, he bad them *ſhew it* (knowing it to be loſt) *and he would own it, if it were his.*

Now to expound this Riddle, 'tis probable he did not know the *Author*, nor the *Printer*; and yet it is clear that the *firſt deſign* was of his *drawing*; and by him accommodated to the *Verſes*, without ſo much as knowing who was the *Poet.* He might poſſibly deliver that Draught alſo to have it *Cut*, without knowing the *Graver*; as it is certain that he did deliver the *Verſes* to be *Printed*, though perhaps without knowing the *Printer*: And this does evidently appear from the Teſtimony of the *Printer himſelf.*

The

The *Printer* confesses and declares upon the ſight of one of the Papers found at *Colleges*, that it was wrought at *his Preſs*; that he did it for *Franck Smith*, who told him that it was a *Merry*, *Joking thing*, but a *Truth*, which Correſponds with the Evidence, that *College* ſaid it was [*as true as that Gods in Heaven*. The Printer Informs likewiſe, that *Francis Smith*, upon the reading of the Staves to him *Expounded* them; (but without the *Picture*) and told him that there was a *Captain* with a *Pack at his back*, and that was the *King*; and that He in the *Mire* was the *King*; and that He with the *Two Faces* was the *King again*; and that it was *a Merry Jocoſe thing, and had been ſung before ſeveral Lords at* Oxford: Which Particularities do punctually agree with the Evidence againſt *College*, from whom undoubtedly *Franck Smith* receiv'd the *Manuſcript*; and *College*, it ſeems, told *Smith* no more upon this occaſion, than what he had told before to other People. The Book-ſeller, I find, knew well enough what he did too, being very earneſt with the Printer not to diſcover his *Name*, but to ſay that *he had the Copy from a Gentleman, to him unknown*; adding moreover theſe words [*A body may be Troubled about it, but there's no* Treaſon *in it*.]

Now after all that is ſaid, leſt it ſhould be ſuggeſted that there's no poſitive Proof yet againſt *College*, that he had any thing to do with this Libel, we ſhall now put that Queſtion out of all diſpute. There was a Paper of *Colleges Intercepted*, which upon Examination he utterly *deny'd* at *firſt*; but finding himſelf *Diſcover'd*, he *Confeſs'd* it. This was ſome few days before his Execution. The Paper here intended, was the *Speech*, word for word, that was Printed for *Edith College*; which being ſhewn to the *Jayler*, he acknowledg'd it to be of *his own Hand-writing*; and ſo is the *Manuſcript* alſo of the *Raree-*

man in England *was miſtaken.* And ſo ſays *Aaron Smith* in his Paper of *Inſtructions* to him at *Oxford.* [*The* Raree Show, *&c. and the* Pictures *are not Treaſon.*] Taking for granted that the *Raree-Show*, &c. would infallibly be made out againſt him.

The *Deſign* of this *Raree Show*, drawn with a Pencil upon *Dutch Paper* in *Black-lead*, was found, it ſeems, lying upon his Table, and afterwards mis-lay'd. So that *College* dodg'd them upon that point, at the Tryal, and diſown'd it in theſe words [*I am ſure you could never find the* Original *of any ſuch thing in my Houſe.*] But though this was a *point-blank denial* of a *Truth*; there is this to be ſaid yet in Extenuation of it, that his Life was at ſtake, and he made the beſt of his Plea. But this is no Excuſe yet for his *Double-dealing* after his *Sentence*, and upon the place of *Execution.* He was Interrogated in the Caſtle ſome few days before he ſuffer'd, whether he did not with his own hand draw the deſign for the Ballad of *A Raree-Show?* and whether *that very Draught* was not taken with the other Prints, in his *Houſe?* His Anſwer was, that *he was neither the* Author *of the Verſes or Ballad, nor did he* know *either the* Author, *or the* Printer. And then for the *Deſign*, he bad them *ſhew it* (knowing it to be loſt) *and he would own it, if it were his.*

Now to expound this Riddle, 'tis probable he did not know the *Author*, nor the *Printer*; and yet it is clear that the *firſt deſign* was of his *drawing*; and by him accommodated to the *Verſes*, without ſo much as knowing who was the *Poet.* He might poſſibly deliver that Draught alſo to have it *Cut*, without knowing the *Graver*; as it is certain that he did deliver the *Verſes* to be *Printed*, though perhaps without knowing the *Printer*: And this does evidently appear from the Teſtimony of the *Printer himſelf.*

The

The *Printer* confesses and declares upon the sight of one of the Papers found at *College's*, that it was wrought at *his Press*; that he did it for *Franck Smith*, who told him that it was a *Merry, Joking thing*, but a *Truth*, which Corresponds with the Evidence, that *College* said it was [*as true as that Gods in Heaven*. The Printer Informs likewise, that *Francis Smith*, upon the reading of the Staves to him *Expounded* them; (but without the *Picture*) and told him that there was a *Captain* with a *Pack at his back*, and that was the *King*; and that He in the *Mire* was the *King*; and that He with the *Two Faces* was the *King again*; and that it was *a Merry Jocose thing, and had been sung before several Lords at* Oxford: Which Particularities do punctually agree with the Evidence against *College*, from whom undoubtedly *Franck Smith* receiv'd the *Manuscript*; and *College*, it seems, told *Smith* no more upon this occasion, than what he had told before to other People. The Book-seller, I find, knew well enough what he did too, being very earnest with the Printer not to discover his *Name*, but to say that *he had the Copy from a Gentleman, to him unknown*; adding moreover these words [*A body may be Troubled about it, but there's no* Treason *in it*.]

Now after all that is said, lest it should be suggested that there's no positive Proof yet against *College*, that he had any thing to do with this Libel, we shall now put that Question out of all dispute. There was a Paper of *College's Intercepted*, which upon Examination he utterly *deny'd* at *first*; but finding himself *Discover'd*, he *Confess'd* it. This was some few days before his Execution. The Paper here intended, was the *Speech*, word for word, that was Printed for *Edith College*; which being shew'd to the *Joyner*, he acknowledg'd it to be of *his own Hand-writing*; and so is the *Manuscript* also of the *Raree-*

Show, from whence that Ballad was Printed; and I have the *Original* at this Inſtant by me, to ſatisfie any man that ſhall make a doubt whether or no it was of *Colleges Writing*. Beſides that, he ſung the Ballad in ſeveral places, and particularly at Sir *Philip Matthews's*, at *Southcot*, as divers Perſons of Credit are ready to atteſt: And by the token that Sir *Philip* charg'd him to *forbear*, *for he would not ſuffer any ſuch thing in his Houſe*; or to this effect.

I cannot but deplore the Inſatuated blindneſs of this Unhappy Creature, that ſhould now at his laſt Extremity, inſtead of diſcharging his ſoul by a publique and ſincere Repentance, be troubling of his head with Shifts and Reſervations, as if he were contriving how to caſt a miſt before the Eyes of God and Man; and in a caſe ſo open too, that half an eye ſees thorow it. And yet I cannot but have more Charity for his endeavour to ſhuffle it off in the one Speech, than for his ſaying juſt nothing at all of it in the other: Unleſs as he has wrapt up the particular Crimes for which he ſuffer'd, in his laſt general Act of Charity and Confeſſion. [*Whomever I have offended in word or deed, I ask every man's pardon; and I forgive the World with all my ſoul all the Injuries I have received*] This is the beſt that can be made on't: And without large allowances for diſtraction of thought, and want of conſideration, 'tis more than a man can juſtifie. In *Baſſet's* Speech, he cannot ſo much as charge himſelf with any offenſive **Word**, though upon the Scrutiny, *he had ſought the Lord with Tears for Information.* [*I as little thought* (ſays he) *to come to this as any man that hears me this day; and I bleſs God, I have no more deſerved it from the hands of men, than the Child that ſucks at his Mothers breaſt, I bleſs God for it.*] Now in the Speech Printed for *Edith College*, he ſeems to contradict this, but

it

it is in terms ſo entangled and dubious, that I muſt leave the Reader to make his own gheſs upon it, only recommending this to his obſervation; that he ſpeaks Intelligibly enough in all other caſes, but where either his Religion, or his Crime is the Queſtion: As for example,

There be ſome other Scandalous and Malicious Reports thrown upon me, as that I ſhould own all that was Sworn againſt me, except Hains's *Evidence, and the like: To all which I have been examined by Dr.* Marſhal, *whom the Biſhop of* Oxon *did voluntarily ſend to me the day after I was Condemned; and that Worthy and Pious Dr.* Hall, *who came to me, and from whom I received the Bleſſed Sacrament on* Sunday laſt, *to whom I did make the ſame Confeſſion and Acknowledgment as I have here Inſerted; particularly the which I do again affirm is Truth, as I ſhall anſwer it to God Almighty: Only I did acknowledge as my fault, I did believe I might have been Guilty on ſome Occaſions, and in heat of talk, to have uttered ſome words of Indecency, not becoming my Duty, concerning the King or his Council;* and if ſo, I do beg their Pardon.] Now the Reader is left to his choice, whether to underſtand [ONLY] as an Exception to the Truth of his Confeſſion, as who ſhould ſay *'Tis all True but that*; or to take it for an *acknowledgment*, of having been Intemperate that way: Or otherwiſe, as a bare ſuppoſition, as if he had ſaid, *I do rather incline to think I might ſometimes laſh out that way; but if I did, it was in a Paſſion; and if I ever did any ſuch thing, I ask their Pardon.* So that here's nothing clear and open, to anſwer, either the expectation of the world, or the duty of a Perſon in his Condition; but only a wandring vein of Ambiguity, and Incoherence, to amuſe the Reader, and to perplex the Period. Or if it means any thing elſe, it bears only the Countenance of a faint acknowledgment of a Miſdemeanor, in a direct Contradiction to

what he delivered by word of mouth at his death; Confirming the Truth of what he *Confesses* in the *One* Paper, and *denys* in the *other* (in his own words) *with his last breath, and sealing it with his dearest Blood.*

It is with great unwillingness that I have enter'd upon this office; but since the Faction has taken the freedom to arraign the Justice of the Nation, on the behalf of this Pretended Innocent, I reckon'd it my duty on the other hand, to expose in some measure the Fraudulent Practices of the Pris'ner; and I make no doubt but to Evince unto any man whatsoever, that will but hear and attend Common Reason, that over and above the Proofs and Circumstances that appear'd at his Tryal, there is in these Sheets sufficient to make out the Credibility of his Accusation. But in my way to the main bus'ness, I shall give ye in the next Section some short touches of his disingenuous proceedings in other cases.

---

§. 5. Colleges Doublings and Mistakes about the Bus'ness of the Lady Rochester, and Father Thompson, and his Entertainment of Mr. Sergeant. Some Notes upon the Evidence of Sir William Jennings, and Mr. Masters, and his Complaints of ill Usage.

I Shall not charge my self with a Critical Dissection of all *Colleges* Disguises and Mistakes, but make my Observations upon such, and so many of them as may serve for a Foundation to the Reader, for some competent judgment upon the rest. And first to the Report concerning the Lady *Rochester*. It

It pass'd for current here in the Town, that the Lady *Rochester*, upon her Death-bed declar'd that *College* was the man who first brought the Priest to her, that Perverted her to the Faith of the Church of *Rome*; which being a thing true in it self, is not unlikely to have been in such manner declar'd by the said Lady; but whether it *was* or was *not* so, it matters not. But this *Rumour* however open'd all Peoples mouths about the Town, that *College* was a *Papist*. Upon this Report, *College*, pretended to purge himself of that Calumny, in both the Speeches afore said formerly cited, and first in that of *Edith Colleges*, in these words,

'Tis Reported I should be the occasion of Perverting the Lady Rochester, *and brought a Priest to her; one* Tomson, *alias* Conyers: *I deny it*, all I did *was at the Request of the Earl of* Rochester, *who gave me a Letter to deliver to him; which I did, but knew not the Contents; neither did that Lady report any such thing of me at her death.*

There be a great many other strange Reports that I have heard since I have been a Pris'ner; That I should be a means to Convert the Countess of *Rochester*, by bringing one *Thompson* a *Priest* to her. Truly *all that I was concern'd in*, was some fifteen or sixteen years ago, I Lodged at Col. *Vernons*, that Married the Lady *Brooks*: The Family were *Papists*; the *Brooks's* were *Papists*, and there was this *Thompson*; and I did suppose him a *Priest* in the House, though I never saw him at Popish Service, or Worship, though I was there half a year; but comeing afterwards to my Lord *Rochester's*, about some business I had to do for him, and several other Persons of Quality, he sent for me one Afternoon from the Parsonage in *Adderbury*, to his House, and his Lady and he stood together: He sent to me, and asked me if my Horse were at home? *said he*, I would have you carry

this

this Letter to Mr. *Thompſon*, if you are at leiſure this Afternoon: *My Lord I am at leiſure to ſerve you.* So I took a Letter from his hand, and his *Lady*'s too, as I remember, (he made an offer that way) Sealed with his own Seal, and carried it to *Thompſon*, and deliver'd it to him, and he told me that he would wait upon my Lord, for it was for ſome Lands my Lord did offer to raiſe money for ſome occaſions. *This is the truth of that Scandal.*

Note that in the former Speech he ſays, *all I did*, was, *&c.* and in the other *All that I was concern'd in*, was, *&c.* And at the bottom [*This is the Truth of that Scandal.*] Giving the Reader to underſtand by this way of delivering himſelf, that he had ſpoken the *Truth*, the *whole Truth*, and *nothing but the Truth*; *ſo help him God.*

Now to Confront theſe Peremptory Aſſertions of his, It is certain, that the day before the Lady *Rocheſter* fell ſick, ſhe ſaid that *College* was a *Papiſt*, in the hearing of ſeveral Perſons; having ſaid the ſame thing alſo before, publiquely at the Table of a Lady in that Neighbourhood, as will be ſufficiently atteſted by many People of unexceptionable Credit, living near the place; if the matter ſhall be in ſuch ſort queſtion'd, as that it may be worth the while to prove it, and that the perſons concern'd in the Enquiry ſhall think fit to own their Names. The ground of this Honourable Ladies miſtake, is ſuppoſed to have been the Zeal of *Colleges* Intereſſing himſelf in the good Offices of bringing the ſaid Prieſt unto the Lady.

That which he ſays of carrying a Letter to *Thompſon*, upon ſuch conſiderations, and in ſuch manner as he repreſents it, is probably a *Truth*: But it is not as he renders it, [*All that he did*, or [*All that he was concern'd in* upon that affair; for he has ſeveral times told a worthy Gentleman, a Truſtee to the Lord *Rocheſter*, and divers others, That he

he the ſaid *College* being about Fourteen years ſince a Trooper under the Earl of *Rocheſter*, my Lord imploy'd him to bring one *Thompſon* a Prieſt to his Lady, to draw her to the *Romiſh Faith*; and that he brought him to my Lady ſeveral times; and that by this *Thompſons* means ſhe was perverted. This will be prov'd (if Inſiſted upon) by ſeveral Perſons of Worth and Credit in and about *Bridgwater*. The Inducement to the employing of *College* upon this Errand, was his being in League at that time with a Maid-Servant of my Ladies, who was afterward his Second Wife, and made uſe of as a Proper Inſtrument for the Obliging of *College* to a Service of that kind. Nor was this the only Letter, as may be undeniably prov'd, that *College* carried upon that ſubject. We'l ſee now what he ſays to the buſineſs of Mr. *Sergeant*.

It's ſaid I Harbour'd Prieſts and Jeſuits; and they inſtance in one Sergeant, *who lay at my Houſe in* Carter-Lane, *Nine years ſince, by the name of Dr.* Smith, *a Doctor of Phyſick; brought to me by one* Monleſs *an Apothecary in the* Old Baily; *and one Mr.* Field *a* Woollen-Draper *within* Ludgate; *and was there as a Dr. of* Phyſick, *and* I knew for no other. (*Speech by Edith College.*

It is ſaid that I had a Prieſt ſeveral years in my Houſe, viz. Sergeant *that came over from* Holland *to Diſcover. About ſome ten years ago, that very ſame man came to me, but* was a Stranger to me; *and he came to me by the name of Dr.* Smith, *a Phyſitian, and there was an Apothecary in the* Old Bailey, *and a* Linnen-Draper *within* Ludgate *that came with him. They brought him thither, and took a Chamber, and lay about half or three quarters of a year, at times, by the Name of Dr.* Smith, *and as a Phyſitian. This is the Truth of that, and no otherwiſe. This is the Entertainment of* Sergeant. (Baſſets Speech.)

Upon

Upon the comparing of these two passages, you will find in the former, that he denys the Knowledge of *Sergeant*, any further than as a Dr. of Physick; and in the latter, slips it over with saying only that he was a Stranger when he came to him. Now it is a certain Truth, (and proveable beyond dispute, so to be) that *College* knew this Dr. of Physick to be Mr. *Sergeant*, even while he Lodg'd in his House. And then for the *Draper* (whom he makes to be a *Linnen-Draper* in the *one* Speech, and a *Woollen* in the *other*, It is absolutely averr'd (as I have it from a sure hand) that this Draper never knew where Mr. *Sergeant* Lodg'd, till he himself told him his Lodging.

Next to the business of Sir *William Jennings*, and Mr. *Masters*, it is remarkable, that though he fenc'd and shifted upon his Tryal, and takes express notice of them in his Speech Printed for *Edith College*, yet he makes no particular mention of them at his last *Speech* by word of mouth, notwithstanding the weight and effect which those Witnesses had with the Jury: But in his *Written Speech*, which was Published by his Relations, you have these words.

As to what Mr. Masters *Swore, he was Unjust to me in omitting that part of our discourse concerning the Parliament in* Forty; *For when he Curs'd them, and the Last Parliament at* Westminster *also; and said* they were alike; *and charged them in* Forty *with beginning the* War, *and cutting off the* Kings Head: *I denied both, and said it was the* Papists *that began that War, and the Death of the King was the Fatal Consequence of it, which Mr.* Charleton *the Draper in* Pauls Church-yard *can testifie; the discourse being at the further end of his Shop, and the present; into which,* Masters *seeing me go, came apace from towards his*

own

own Shop, and as I believe, on purpoſe to Quarrel with me, for which God forgive him.

I ſhall have occaſion by and by to handle this Point more at large. So that no more needs to be ſaid at preſent, but that *College* has ſeveral times in Mr. *Charletons* Company, *Juſtifi'd the Proceedings* of 1641. and pronounced the *King* to be a *Papiſt*, as Mr. *Charleton* I preſume will eaſily call to mind, if there ſhould be any occaſion to refreſh his memory upon that ſubject. [And that which he ſays to Sir *William Jennings* likewiſe, is no more than an *Empty Cavil*, without any colour of a *Defence.*]

To come now to the **Ill Uſage** that he Complains of [*I was* (ſays he in his laſt Speech) *under moſt ſtrange Circumſtances as ever any man was. I was kept Priſ'ner ſo cloſe in the* Tower, *that I could have no Converſation with any, though I was certain the Popiſh Lords had it every day there, though I could have none. I could not tell the Witneſſes that were to Swear againſt me; I could not tell what it was they Swore againſt me; for I could have no Copy of the Indictment, nor no way poſſible to make any preparation to make my defence, as I ought to have done, and might have done by Law. I had no liberty to do any thing*, as I am a dying man.]

Now for the Truth of this, I ſhall refer the Reader to his *Two Petitions* to his Majeſty; the *one* of *July* 28. and the *other* of *Auguſt* 11. prefix'd to his *Tryal*, and two *Orders of Council* thereupon. In the *Former*, he prays *that leave may be given to Mr.* Thomas Smith, *and Mr.* Robert Weſt, *to come to him; and alſo to have the uſe of Pen, Ink, and Paper, in order only to make his Legal and Juſt Defence; and alſo to have the Comfort of ſeeing his two Children*; which was all granted him as he deſired. In his *Second Petition* of *Auguſt* 11. he makes a Preambular Acknowledgment in theſe following words.

In full assurance therefore of the great Justice and Clemency of your Majesty, and this Honourable Board, which he hath lately had some Experience *of, and doth with all Humility and Thankfulness acknowledge,* &c. And then he further prays,

Your Petitioner doth humbly beseech your Majesty and this Honourable Board, that he may have a Copy of the Indictment against him, or the particular Charges of it: That his Council and Solicitor may have free Access to, and private Conference with him; and because their own private affairs, or other accidents may call away some of his Council from his Assistance, that Mr. Wallop, *Mr.* Smith, *Mr.* Thompson, *Mr.* Datnel, *Mr.* West *of the* Middle-Temple, *Mr.* Holles *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *Mr.* Rotherham, *Mr.* Lovel, *Mr.* Rowny *of* Greys-Inn, *Mr.* Pollexfin, *Mr.* Ward *of the* Inner-Temple, *may be assign'd him for* Council; *and* Aaron Smith *for his* Sollicitor, *and that he may have a Copy of the* Jurors *to be return'd upon his Tryal some days before his Tryal.* Hereupon it was Order'd by his Majesty in Council, **That the Friends and Relations of** Stephen College, **a Prisoner in the** Tower, **shall have liberty of Visiting, and freely Conversing with him, and the Lieutenant of the** Tower, **(having first caused their Names to be taken in Writing) is to suffer such Friends and Relations to have Access to the said** Stephen College **without any Interruption from time to time accordingly.**

Here's a Clamour, ye see, upon a False and Groundless Suggestion, deliver'd upon the Credit of a Dying Man, as the true state of his Condition, when yet it was no other in effect, then the saying over of his Lesson from the dictate of his Sollicitor.

Before ye Plead (says *Aaron Smith* in his Paper of *Instructions*) *speak to this purpose.*

My

My Lords, I have been uſed not only unlike an Innocent, *or an* Engliſh-man, *but I believe more barbarouſly than any Convicted Villain under the Tyranny of* Turky, *or* France: *When I was firſt Apprehended, I was, contrary to the Priviledges of a Citizen of* London, *hurried out from thence before a Secretary of State.* Here's the King and his Government Charg'd with *Tyranny*, and his Majeſties Authority ſubjected, even in a caſe of *Treaſon*, to the juriſdiction of my *Lord Mayor.* [*I might with as much Juſtice have been hang'd at* Tyburn *by the way, as to be brought hither to be* Murder'd, *with a little more* Formality. And then a little lower: [*I will not be Murder'd in Hugger mugger.*] *Anſwer thus* (ſays *Aaron Smiths* Paper) *if the Attorney General, or any other of the Kings Councel Interrupt ye; or when you have done, tell ye, you Arraign the Juſtice of the Nation.*

When you come to open your own Evidence (ſays *Smith's Paper* again) *ſpeak to this purpoſe:* [*I hope you will not bring ſo much Scandal upon your ſelves* [My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury] *as to be the* Popes Drudges; *and give the firſt blow to the* Proteſtant Cauſe, *by Convicting me upon ſuch Infamous Evidence.* And laſtly, *Give an Account of your going down to* Oxford, *and that you went, becauſe* Haines *had Sworn the Papiſts deſign'd to deſtroy the Parliament there.*] So that *College*, ye ſee, was Inſtructed, not only in a Scandalous method of Reviling the Court, but he was alſo told what Cauſe he ſhould Aſſign for his going to *Oxford*, and directed to caſt it upon *Haines's Oath*, as a colour rather of his *Sollicitors Invention*, than the *true* and *real Motive* that carry'd him *thither.*

Before I go any further, it will become me to diſtinguiſh betwixt *Colleges Two Speeches.* The one was deliver'd by *word of mouth*, upon the Cart, at the time of his Execution. The other was convey'd from him out of the Caſtle, to ſome of his Relations in *Writing*; and this was the

Paper, which at the firſt he deny'd the ſending of, and afterwards confeſs'd.

Having now laid open what it is, or rather what it is not, which in *Colleges* caſe is call'd the *Proteſtant Religion*; the meaning of *Colleges Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*: Having prov'd the *Libellous Pictures* upon him, and given the Reader a taſt of his *Unfaithful dealing*, even to the laſt: We ſhall here proceed to a fair and impartial Deliberation upon the ſubject matter of his *Charge*, and leave the Reader to his own thoughts, whether *Guilty or not Guilty* upon the whole matter.

---

§. 6. Notes upon Colleges ordinary way of Diſcourſe and Converſation.

IN my way to the Capital Branch of his Charge (*i. e.* the Deſign of *Seizing the King*, and *Subverting the Government*) it will not be amiſs to take ſome notice of the humor of the man in the ordinary way of his *Behaviour* and *Converſation*: The Biaſs of his *Inclinations* and *Opinions*, and other circumſtantial Diſcoveries of his *Imaginations* and *Purpoſes*, with a reſpect to thoſe Seditious ends. And yet it may be looked upon, perhaps as an Idle and a Superfluous undertaking, to put my ſelf to the trouble of proving that by Particular Inſtances, which might be as well done by a General Appeal to all the Clubs and Coffee-houſes about this Town whereſoever he haunted: for they can every one of them bear witneſs to his Intemperances againſt the Government; and that when he was not making himſelf and the Company ſport in his way of Ridiculing the King, the Duke of *York*, the Church, and the Court, the man was as good as out of his Element.

They

They told me (ſays he, ſpeaking of ſome of the Lords of the Council) there was Treaſon *Sworn againſt me*; *truly they ſurprized me when they ſaid ſo*; *for of all things in the world I thought my ſelf as free from that*, *as any man. I asked them if any man living had the confidence to Swear Treaſon againſt me? They ſaid* Several, Three or Four, *as I remember.* Laſt Speech.

As to what Dugdale, Smith, Turberville, *and* Hains *Swore againſt me*, *they did Swear ſuch Treaſon that nothing but a Mad-man would have Truſted any body with.* Ibid.

And again [*It is a very* unlikely *thing that I ſhould ſpeak* Treaſon *to* Dugdale.]

There are two things now worthy of Conſideration in this Point (even ſetting aſide the poſitive Proofs of the Treaſon ſpoken.) Firſt, *Did* he ſpeak the Treaſon whereof he ſtands Accuſed or *not*? Secondly, It may be a Queſtion, *What* it is that he calls *Treaſon*? It is notoriouſly known to moſt that ever knew the man, that it was his common Guiſe to talk of his Majeſty at ſuch a Deſperate Rate, that People were afraid to give him the Hearing; and that he has been caution'd hundreds of times to keep his Tongue in's Head; or, if he did not, *he would talk himſelf at laſt to the Gallows.* Why ſhould it be ſuch a *Surprize*, now, to this Raſh and Violent Man, to hear that there was *Treaſon* Sworn againſt him; when every man (almoſt) that kept him Company, warn'd him of it, and foretold him what it would come to at laſt? And then, how frivolous again is the *Manner* of his Diſcharging himſelf from the Treaſons Sworn againſt him by the *Witneſſes*? None but a *Mad-man* (he ſays) would have *Truſted* any body in ſuch a caſe. And yet it appears from the Tenor of his whole Converſation, and the frequent Advices of his Friends, that he Truſted any man that came next, with as much as that amounts to. And now once more, to the

unlike-

unlikelihood of his ſpeaking ſuch things to *Dugdale*: Let the Reader ask and anſwer himſelf, as to the *Probability* of his being as free with *Dugdale*, as he was with *other* people. Let not any man take this for a Rambling Story upon a bare Hear-ſay; for I am ready to prove and juſtifie the truth of every particular: Not as the Author of the *No Proteſtant Plot* takes upon him, with an [*I do aſſure all the world*, &c (Page 19.) *My ſelf and divers others have ſeen the Original*, &c. (Page 18.) And this ſame I, and My Self, a *Quidam* all this *time*, that a man does not know where to find: But for the Satisfaction of any man that doubts, I have here expos'd the Authors name with this Pamphlet.

They told me (ſays *College* again) *it was Sworn againſt me that I had a deſign to pull the King out of* Whitehal, *and to ſerve him as his Father was ſerv'd, or to that purpoſe: The* Loggerhead, his Father, *or that kind of Language. I* did deny it then, *and* do now deny it, *upon my* Death. Laſt Speech.

This Denial I ſuppoſe, ſpeaks to both the Members of this Period: The *Deſign* upon the Perſon of the *King*; and the Villany of the *Foul Language* upon his Late, Bleſſed *Father*. To the *Former* we have allotted a Section by it ſelf, and the Latter may be fairly concluded (I think) out of his own mouth. Firſt (ſays he) *I thought that the Parliament that ſate laſt at* Weſtminſter, *did ſtand up for the Peoples Rights after the ſame manner that the Parliament in Forty did*, (Tryal, Page 83.) So that after a moſt abominable Scandal upon the *laſt Parliament* at *Weſtminſter* in the *Compariſon*, he juſtifies the *Rebellion* in the *Application*. And then again, *I did maintain* (ſays he) *that they* (the Parliament of Forty) *were an Honeſt Good Parliament, and much of opinion with the Parliament that ſate laſt at* Weſtminſter, *which was for the true Intereſt of the Nation*, Page 81.

Now

Now if I underſtand this matter aright, It is Tacitly to call the King all the Tyrants and Murderers which that Traiterous Faction call'd him. And beſides, What's the meaning of [*Like Father Like Son*] in his *Raree Show?* But *Firſt*, as appears by the Context to Involve them both in *the ſame Fate*: And *Secondly* to repreſent them both under *the ſame Character*. That is to ſay (in ſhort) to apply all thoſe Brutalities of Language which he has in that Libel and elſewhere, beſtow'd upon the *Son*, to the Reproach and Diſhonour of his Martyr'd *Father*. To finiſh this point, He had a kind of *Idiome* by himſelf, and ſeldom Diſcours'd of his *Majeſty*, his *Royal Highneſs*, the *Hierarchy*, or the *Privy Council*, but in the Style of *Old Rowley*, *Mack*, *Tantivies* and *Tories*. [Old Rowley (ſays he) *is as errant a Papiſt as his Brother.*] And this was his note at every turn. [Old Rowley (ſays he again) *cares not a half-penny what becomes of the Crown, or how he leaves it in Debt, or what becomes of his People as to matter of Religion*, &c.] At an other time [*They are come* (ſays he) *to* change *Candles at Court* already; *but we'l make them* eat *'em too, before we have done.* [*When we have done with the* Papiſts (ſays he in another Company) *We'l do well enough with the* Biſhops.]

Now here's another Paſſage to a very honeſt man of his own Trade, and a Loyal Subject. This perſon being out of Town about a week before the opening of the *Oxford-Parliament*, fell into Company with *College*; well Mounted and a Caſe of Piſtols before him, not far from *Enfield*. *Mr.* College (ſays he) *what will the Parliament do at* Oxford? By God (ſays *College*) I know what they'l do. They'l begin with the Bill of Excluſion. The King has no money, and he gets not a penny without it. *Well* (ſays the other) *but what if his Majeſty will not paſs it? We ſhall ſee then* (ſays *College*) *who are the* Papiſts. *We'l run* them *down* firſt, *and then we ſhall do well enough with the* Clergy.

Clergy. *We'l level them with the Ground. We are Ten to One.* Is not this a Broad ſign made at the King? And does it not preciſely anſwer the very Pinch of the Evidence? And methinks he ſpake home to *another Joyner* too, that charg'd him with the neglect of his *Trade*; and all the reply he made, was the laying his hand upon his Sword, as if he had ſaid, *This is it that I intend to truſt to.*

There are ſo many inſtances of his Pragmatical medling Humor, that the recital of them would coſt more Time and Paper than the thing is worth. A Gentleman in diſcourſe with *College* in the *Caſtle* at *Oxford*, was telling him (after many profeſſions of his Innocency) *Mr.* College (ſays he) *you know I have my ſelf at* Cornbury *heard you many times talk undutifully of the Government. Now methinks, you that are but a Mechanick ſhould not preſume to meddle with things ſo much above ye.* Was it any harm (ſays he) for *Amos to leave his Cows?* Nay he was ſo Bold and Inconſiderate when things went otherwiſe than he would have them, that upon the Diſſolution of the *Laſt Weſtminſter Parliament*, he went preſently away to *Dick's Coffee-Houſe* in a Huff. *Well* (ſays he) *I perceive here's no good to be done. We muſt e'en draw our Swords and Fight it over again.* Theſe were the words, or to this effect.

The Turbulence of his Spirit was ſeen upon all occaſions, where there was but the leaſt colour for the faſtening of a Scandal upon the King, the Church, and his Majeſties Miniſters of State and Juſtice. His Vein lay much toward *Doggerel* and *Deſigning*, as he has plentifully given the world to underſtand in his Learned *Drawings*, which are ſtill charged with the utmoſt Rudeneſs, Malice, and Scurrility imaginable: Inſomuch that the Treaſon of his *Heart* is laid as open in thoſe Cuts, as that of his *Tongue* was at his Trial; with this ſingle Difference, that the one was only a wiſh, and the other an *Overt Act*, and a declared Reſolution.

This

This device call'd the *Catholique Gameſters*, is a venemous Libel upon all the Orders of the Government; and firſt upon the *King himſelf*, charging all the Pretended Miſcarriages of State, in *Shew*, upon the Papiſts, but in *Truth*, and *Effect*, upon his *Majeſty*.

It is a Libel upon the *Houſe of Peers*, by the Culling out of ſo many Lords by Name, under the Title of *Proteſtants*, and Repreſenting in that number only *Two Biſhops*, that is to ſay, *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, implying all the reſt to be *Papiſts*. In the Houſe of *Commons*, he tells us of *Penſioners who Voted by Contents, got Bills to Paſs againſt the Common Good*, &c.

And then he deſcends to the *Bench*, and the *Jury*, where he brings in the Pope, ſpeaking of the Prieſts and Jeſuites in theſe words:

Hell keep the reſt from Juſtice (*we call* Fury,)
And ſend them Wakeman's *or a* Gaſcoign Jury:
Pick'd, Brib'd, Inſtructed how to murther Truth,
From Grand St. Martins Bull, *and* Cits Wide Mouth.

And take them quite through, they are all of the ſame Style and Deſign: And I would have any man tell me now, if a body may not charitably enough conclude, that whoſoever *Defames* the Government at This rate, wiſhes it *Overturn'd*; and if he had but Power and Opportunity, would do his part toward it. I ſhould be ungrateful, now I am upon this ſubject, if I ſhould not acknowledge the Honor he has done me in divers of his Emblematical Pieces. He has preſented the world with *Six Towzers*, and *L'Eſtrange* with *Four Fair pair of Gallows*.

Here's nothing hitherto, but what may very well paſs for the Preamble to a Conſpiracy, and he that conſiders his Haunts, the Company he kept, the Acceſs he had to

the Private Cabals and Conſultations of the Faction; together with his forwardneſs to thruſt himſelf into all Popular Brawls and *Conteſts*, and that Stubborn Obſtinacy which was natural to him, will undoubtedly look upon him as an inſtrument every way qualified for ſuch a purpoſe. As they were carrying away *Sam. Harris* about the Treaſonous Libel that coſt Mr. *Fitz-Harris* his Life, and a Crowd of People about him, a very honeſt Gentleman, a friend of mine, ſaw *College* whiſpering with a Perſon then in Power, from whom he went immediately to make his way to *Harris*; but the preſs was ſo great that he was forc'd to deliver his Meſſage to him over Three or Four Heads, and ſo call'd to him juſt over the ſhoulder of the Gentleman, my friend. *Come* Sam. (ſays he) *take a good heart, Mr.* Such a one——(naming the perſon) *makes no doubt but to bring ye off.*

And to ſhew ye now what Credit *College* had with his Party, (but to what purpoſe in this particular I cannot ſay) He took his Hat which was very broad Brim'd, and holding it in his hands with the inſide upward, *I have given away* (ſays he) *twice as much money as this Hat would hold, Brims and all.* Now I ſuppoſe this money was not thrown away to make Ducks and Drakes; ſo that I cannot reconcile this Declaration of his to a certain Paſſage in his Laſt Speech, *viz.* [*I take God to witneſs, I never had one Sixpence, or any thing elſe, to carry on any Deſign; and if it were to ſave my life now, I cann't Charge any man in the world with any deſign againſt the Government (as God is my Witneſs) or againſt his Majeſty, or any other Perſon.*]

The Explication of this Clauſe depends upon the knowledge of what is meant by theſe words, [ANY DESIGN:] for the Expreſſion is too *large* to be *True*, if it be taken in the *Latitude:* and if it be underſtood with a *Reſtriction*, *i.e.* that he knew of no Deſign againſt the *King*, or the *Govern-*

Government, the Principle of Forty one (by him aſſerted in his Tryal) brings him off, when the Rebellion it ſelf was declared to be *FOR* the *King*, and the *Government*; ſo that 'tis but his placing the Government in the *People*, or the *Two Houſes*, to Countenance the Equivocation: And finally, The diſclaiming of a Deſign againſt any other perſon goes a little too far methinks; for by his own Confeſſion there was a Deſign carried on againſt the *Papiſts*.

It would be proper enough in this place to render ſome Account of his Deportment at *Oxford* in the *Priſon*. He was, at firſt coming, Stubborn and Captious, Inſiſting upon the Rights of an *Engliſh-man*, and Menacing his Keeper till he was brought to better Terms, by telling him plainly what he was to truſt to. Nothing put him more out of Patience, than telling him of his *Pictures*. In his behaviour in Company he ſeem'd always to be very little concern'd; but his Keeper ſays he had terrible Agonies when he was by himſelf that kept him waking ſometimes whole nights. A little before he dy'd, Mr. *Gregory* the *Sheriff* came into his Room with an Order to have his Body deliver'd *whole* to his Friends. Upon the ſight of the Seal, he leapt from his Bed with a great deal of Joy; expecting it might have been a Pardon; but upon finding the miſtake, he threw himſelf down again in a deep Diſquiet. He ſays in his *Dying words* (*Printed for E.* College) That the Meſſenger who brought him the Meſſage of his Death, told him he might ſave his Life, if he would confeſs who was the cauſe of his coming to *Oxford*, and upon what Account, which was ill done of the Meſſenger; for it was not only *without*, but contrary to *Orders*.

He was in the main very ignorant of any thing of *Religion*; and he would ſay that he *found*, and that he was *guided* by the Spirit; and this was his perpetual Refuge. What Principles he had were *Enthuſiaſtical*. As for In-

ſtance, He ſaid that Eating and Drinking in the Euchariſt, and ſo waſhing in Baptiſm was to be underſtood in a Spiritual Senſe, aud declar'd that he receiv'd no benefit by the Prayers of the Church. He ſpake of the *Quakers* as *the People of God*, and particularly of one that had been with him as *the honeſteſt man that ever he knew*. It was reply'd to him by a Reverend Divine, that the *Quakers* deny'd in effect, *Chriſtianity it ſelf*: As the *Two Sacraments*, and a *Succeſſion of Miniſters*. And next they deny'd both the *Divinity*, and *Satisfaction of our Saviour*; naming *Penn*, whom *College* ſaid he very well knew, but did not own him in that Principle. His Favourite was Mr. *Baxter*, whom he heard more than Dr. *Owen*; and his Opinion was, that God had a *Church* in all the *Sects* in *England*.

---

§ 7. College Juſtifies the Grounds and the Proceedings of the late Rebellion.

AFter theſe Pregnant and Undeniable Proofs of ſo many Virulent and Audacious Outrages upon the *Perſon*, and *Dignity* of his Majeſty, and the very *Form*, as well as the *Adminiſtration* of the Government. It remains now only to be conſidered how far the Malefactor was Principled toward the Actuating of that Malice, and by what Methods he propounded the putting of thoſe Diſloyal Inclinations into Execution.

Firſt, As to his *Opinion* of the *Sovereignty*, according to the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, we ſhall not need to look any further for't, than into his own words, and the inevitable Concluſion which naturally ariſes from them. He appeals from Mr. *Maſters* to Mr. *Charlton* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*, about his Juſtifying the Parliament of *Forty*, and

and yet it is a known Truth, that he has ſeveral times juſtify'd that Parliament in the hearing of Mr. *Charleton*. He does acknowledge in his Tryal (Page 82.) That he ſaid, *That Parliament did nothing but what they had* Juſt Cauſe *for, and that the Parliament that laſt ſate at* Weſtminſter, *was of the ſame opinion.* Now in ſaying this, he takes upon himſelf the Owning of all the Principles, whereupon they proceeded in that Controverſie betwixt the *King* and the *Two Houſes*: And in ſo doing, ſtrips the King of all his Regalities, and Lodges the Supremacy in the Lords and Commons. [*The* Papiſts *began the War* (he ſays) *The* Papiſts *broke off the Treaty at* Uxbridge; *and the* Papiſts *cut off the Kings Head*, Page 81.] And in that caſe, He Juſtifies the Old Parliament. What can be clearer now, than that if this King ſhould have been preſs'd upon the ſame Terms with his Royal Father, After the ſame manner as the *Papiſts Began*, and *Purſu'd* the Former War, and brought his *Late Majeſty* to the *Block*, Juſt ſo it ſhould have been call'd *another Popiſh Exploit*, the Reducing of this *King* to the *ſame Extremities*: And as they made the *Late King*, the *Church*, and the *Royal Party*, *Papiſts* in the *One Rebellion*, they would have treated *this King*, *Church*, and all his *Faithful Subjects* too, as *Papiſts* too in *another Rebellion.* Theſe are the *Oxford Papiſts* fairly Expounded. And under this Ambiguity it is, that he Covers and Diſguiſes his pretext of Faith and Affection to the King and his Government: That is to ſay, as he intends the Kings Authority to be Virtually Reſolv'd into the Two Houſes: And this Seditious Maxim is a little more expreſly ſet forth in his *Raree Show.* In which Libel, there is a Figure of a Man with a Cheſt at's Back, which he Explains to be meant of the King, with the Lords and Commons in a Box, and Pluck'd down in the Mire by Three Fellows, with theſe words to illuſtrate that Paſſage.

So, ſo, the Gyant's down,
Let's MASTERS out of Pound, &c.

In which two Verſes is laid open, both the Deſign of Dethroning the King, and in the word MASTERS the Doctrine of the Supremacy of the Two Houſes.

Now for a further Confirmation of his Opinion, He declar'd to Mr. *Croſthwait* in the *Caſtle* at *Oxford*, That he believ'd it lawful to *Reſiſt* the King, in caſe he ſhould invade his *Property*; and he endeavour'd to defend it by ſeveral Arguments, till at length he was (at leaſt) ſeemingly Convinc'd of his Miſtake. This makes it abundantly Evident what he thought of the *Lawfulneſs* of ſuch *Reſiſtance*, if the Caſe of *Property* ſhould come to be the *Queſtion*; And it reſts only now to make it out that he did take *Property* to be the Queſtion; and then all his Pretenſions of Reſpect to the King, and to the Government fall to the Ground: As what's the meaning of that Paſſage in his *Raree Show*, where he charges the King with

Fleecing Englands *Flocks*,
Long Fed with Bits and Knocks, &c.

but to denote the *King* to be a *Tyrant* and an *Oppreſſor*?

Now to ſum up briefly what is already delivered; Here are all the *Fore-runners* of, and *Diſpoſitions* to a *Rebellion*, as clear as the Noon-day, and *College* deeply engag'd in every Point. Firſt the General Pretence of a Deſign upon the *Proteſtant Religion*, as the Foundation of a *Popular Diſcontent*. 2dly. *That General Religion*, in ſuch a manner as it is repreſented, is not any where to be found. 3dly. Under the Notion of the *Papiſts*, to Invade this Religion, the *Church Eſtabliſh'd*, the *King* and his *Party* are moſt

moſt apparently ſtruck at. 4thly. All manner of *Defamatory Libels* are *Contriv'd*, *Publiſh'd*, and *Promoted* by *College himſelf* toward the Enflaming of a *Sedition*. 5thly. It is Remarkable, *Colleges Shuffling* and *Equivocating*, to Evade the *Charge*, which is, nevertheleſs made out againſt him at laſt. 6thly. There is an Undeniable Diſcovery of his *Diſaffection*, even to the Degree of a *Mortal Hatred*, both to *Church* and *State*. And 7thly. Conſidering the Method of *Colleges* Proceedings, with the Tendency of his *Practices*, *Principles*, and *Perſuaſions*, what could any man believe leſs (even without any further Evidence) than that *College Meditated*, and *Deſigned* the Improvement of all Occaſions to the Subverting of the *Government*; and, in ſuch manner too, as it is imputed to him?

---

§. 8. There was a Deſign upon the King at Oxford, and College manifeſtly Engag'd in the Conſpiracy.

THat there was a Plot to be Executed at *Oxon*, will be granted, I preſume, by any man that has but eyes in's head, and looks that way: And *this* a *Republican Plot* too, carried on under the pretended Apprehenſion of a *Popiſh* one. But the Multitude were to be mov'd and prepar'd for't: And ſee the courſe now that they took to work upon the Paſſions of the Common People. The firſt thing to be done was throughly to poſſeſs them that the *Papiſts had a Deſign upon the Parliament at* Oxford; and conſequently upon the *Proteſtant Religion*; the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the *Engliſh Nation*. To this purpoſe, How many Impudent and Ridiculous *Shams*, by Counterfeit Tickets, and Letters were Expos'd in the daily Papers

pers of Intelligence, which at that time were ſwallowed whole, as the very Oracles of the *Vulgar?* [*Several Papers* (ſays the *Proteſtant Mercury*, Numb. 24.) *have been dropt about the City, that there would be a* Maſſacre at *Oxford on the 25th. inſtant, and that the 5th. of* November *will be turned into the 25th. of* March, (1681.) *and one of theſe was thrown into a Shop in* Grace-Church-ſtreet. But you ſhall now have the Letter it ſelf at large, with all its appertinences.

London, March 16. *This very morning, Letters were found in ſeveral places in this City, unſeal'd; purporting a warning of a Dangerous Deſign to Deſtroy the Parliament; particularly one Letter was found in Mr.* Brett's *Shop, a* Linnen-Draper *in* Grace-Church-ſtreet, *which was ſuppoſed to be put in at a Cleft in the Window: His man finding it when he open'd the Shop, Communicated the ſame to his Maſter, who cauſed him to ſubſcribe the Paper, that he might be able to teſtifie it was the ſame that he found; and then Preſented it to one of our* City Magiſtrates, *who we ſuppoſe by this time has made his Majeſty acquainted with the Contents, which were as followeth:*

To all the Noble Members of this moſt Honorable enſuing Parliament in General.

Noble Lords and Gentlemen,

Though I dare not, nor am I in a condition to diſcover the whole ſubſtance of ſome Helliſh Deſigns now on foot againſt his Majeſties Royal Perſon, and againſt you all at Oxford; *yet though I was ſure to be Racked for it, I muſt and will give you a Hint of them as followeth.*

Remember the Fifth of November, *which is now to be the 25th. of* March; *which, if not prevented, will be the utter deſtruction of both King and Parliament, and all* True Proteſtants *in his Majeſties Dominions.*

And

And if that fail, beware of many thouſands that lie in wait for your Lives, whoſe Deſign is ſo cloſely carried, that it will, I doubt, be a hard matter to diſcover it, until it be too late.

Mark well what I ſay, and make not ſlight of it, as ye tender your Lives and Fortunes, and the Kingdoms ſafety. I ſay, make not ſlight of it, as you tender your Lives and Fortunes, and the Kingdoms ſafety.

I am in a mean condition, and under many Afflictions, but cannot diſcover my ſelf as yet. Thus wiſhing you all happy ſucceſs, I take leave.

This Letter was Superſcribed as followeth.

To all True Proteſtants, *who love the King and Parliament, whoſoever finds this Note, let him with all ſpeed repair to ſome Elected Members of the* Parliament, and preſent it to them. (*Ben. Harris*'s Proteſtant Domeſtique, Numb. 107.) You ſhall ſee now how the humor is followed, *Numb.* 110.

A Letter importing ſome Curſed and Treaſonable Deſigns ſtill Carrying on (by the Ever Plotting Papiſts) againſt his Majeſties Royal Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion, being lately found in the Wood of Bally-Hooly *in the County of* Cork, *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *by a Gentleman of the County of* Lymrick *as he Travelled through that Wood: He thought it of that Concern to the Publique, that he immediately gave it to the Earl of* Barrimore, *to be by him tranſmitted to his Grace the Duke of* Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, which was done (as we are inform'd) by the ſaid Earl accordingly. A True Copy of which Letter followeth,* viz.

Brother David,

I received a Letter lately, wherein I underſtand that we ſhall go on with our Deſign before Eaſter-day. *We ſhall*

have Encouragements to deſtroy Heretiques, *Lord* Br. *will be one of the Perſons to deſtroy the* Heretical King, *and* Monmouth. *Encourage all our Friends to keep their Arm private. I am*

Yours till death,

Jan. 8. Allen Condon.

Superſcribed to *David Raach*, *Pariſh-Prieſt* of *Bally-Hooly*. This was Publiſh'd *April* 1. 1681.

There would be no end, if I ſhould go through with all the Cheats upon that Juncture, of the ſame ſtamp. One more only and I have done.

Letters from Ireland *ſay that there was a Great Leading Prieſt, a man of great Requeſt among the* Popiſh Party, *having been very Active in carrying on their Deſigns, was ſomewhat troubled in Conſcience* (*being upon his Death-bed*) *at ſome things which he had kept ſecret, ſent for ſome* Proteſtants *of the Neighborhood, unknown to the* Papiſts, *whom he had formerly been obliged to, to come and ſee him e're he departed; who coming according to his requeſt, the Prieſt Expreſſed himſelf to this Effect.*

God hath put it in my heart to warn ye to have a care of your ſelves; for you, and all the reſt of the Proteſtants are deſign'd to be Maſſacred; It was to have been done ſome time ſince, but an accident obſtructed it; ſo that the day is not certainly appointed, though the thing is fully concluded on: therefore defend your ſelves as well as you can. The ſame thing is deſigned in England. *Ib. Numb.* 112.

Now as all theſe Stories were only Forgeries and Contrivances to put the Hot-headed and credulous Fools of the Faction into a Ferment, and prepare them for any violent Attempt; the Project did ſo far alſo take effect, as to draw together armed multitudes into a Reſolution and Con-

Confederacy, to oppoſe whatſoever ſhould be preſented unto them under the colour of a *Popiſh Deſign:* And they that had ſo little Wit or Honeſty, as to run to *Oxford*, and ſo Accoutred, upon ſuch an *April-Errand*, would undoubtedly have gone through with their work upon a good occaſion, when they were ſo far onward in their way. Here was a very extraordinary Concurrence of Palpable Impoſtures, accommodated to the ſame End, and meeting upon the ſame nick of time too. And this is not all neither; for there were ſeveral Printed Papers, of Clamor, and Complaint, againſt the Kings taking his Guards with him, under a Pretext that they would hinder the Liberty of Debates, and over-awe the Parliament. This Circumſtance does very much favour the Preſumption of a Plot upon the Government; far if they were afraid of a *Popiſh Attempt*, his Majeſties Guards would have been a good Security againſt it, and no inconvenience to them at all, unleſs in caſe of a *Phanatical Conſpiracy:* ſo that their apprehenſion of the *Guards* is a very fair Interpretation of what they meant by the *Papiſts.*

If there was not a *Plot*, what meant the Diſtinguiſhing Marks of the *ſame-Colour'd-Ribbon in their Hats*, with *No Popery No Slavery* in them, for their Motto: and ſuch quantities of them diſtributed for the diſcrimination of the Party? And why that *Motto* either? but firſt to intimate a notorious Scandal upon the King, as if his Majeſty were *Popiſhly*, and *Tyrannically Inclin'd.* And 2dly. As an Oſtentation of their Force and Reſolution to Oppoſe any Power whatſoever, even under the colour of that Bare Pretence.

From this *Probability* of a *Seditious Deſign*, we ſhall come cloſer now to a *Proof* of the *thing it ſelf*; and ſee how far *College* was concern'd in't, both from his own Words and Actions; and from the Agreement of other

Evidences with the Points of his Accuſation: Not medling at all with the merits of his Cauſe, as they appeared upon his Tryal.

As for what Arms I had (ſays he) *and what Arms others had, they were for our own Defence, in caſe the Papiſts ſhould make any Attempt upon us, by way of Maſſacre, or any Invaſion or Rebellion, that we ſhould be ready to defend our ſelves. God is my Witneſs, this is all I know: If this be a Plot, This I was in; but in no other. But never knew of any Numbers or Times appointed for Meeting; but we ſaid one to another, that* the Papiſts had a Deſign againſt the Proteſtants *when we did meet, as I was a man of General Converſation; and in caſe they ſhould riſe, we were ready: But then they ſhould begin the Attempt upon us.* Laſt Speech.

It is to be noted firſt, that they were all *Armed.* 2dly. That they Communicated among themſelves, and enter'd into a kind of League of *Conjunction.* 3dly. That they Reputed themſelves ſtrong enough to Encounter ſuch a Body of men, as (if we may believe them) threatned Deſtruction to the Government. And 4thly. That they were reſolv'd to put it to the hazard, if the Papiſts ſhould attempt any thing: So that here's a *Form'd Conſpiracy* acknowledg'd; and ſo many men as good as liſted, but however link'd in a common Deſign, without any Authority or Commiſſion: And we know very well what the Law ſays in this caſe, let the intent of it be what it will. We ſaid to one another (*ſays he*) that *the Papiſts had a deſign againſt the Proteſtants*; and then that *we were Ready, but They ſhould begin the Attempt*; which may ſeem to qualifie the matter by making it only a *Defenſive War.* But ſtill, even that War it ſelf, without the Kings Commiſſion, is a plain Rebellion. And this is not yet the worſt on't; for in Vindicating the War of the *Two Houſes* in 1640 *&c.* and their Proceedings under the ſame diſguiſe of calling the

Kings

Kings Friends Papiſts; and pretending that the *King* in his *Perſon* made War againſt his *Authority* in the *Lords and Commons*; and under that colour, repreſenting themſelves to be only upon the *Defenſive*: In Vindicating that War (I ſay) which was a *Helliſh Rebellion*, it is but Conſonant to their Principles, to juſtifie the ſame Proceedings over again, under the ſame Pretenſions.

He ſays further in his other Speech, [*I never was engag'd in any manner of Plot or Conſpiracy whatſoever in my life, againſt the Kings* Perſon, *Laws or Government, or know of any that is or was, the Papiſts only excepted*——*It is utterly falſe that I was to have ſeiz'd the* King, *either at* White-Hall, *or at* Oxon; *and I do here ſolemnly declare I knew not of ſo much as one ſingle Perſon on Gods Earth that was, or would have ſtood by me in that Attempt.*] And to the ſame effect he ſays over again in his *laſt Speech*.

I ſhall not force theſe words of his beyond a fair Congruity with the tenour of what he ſays in other places upon this ſubject; though the liberty he has taken throughout, of ſpeaking more or leſs than the juſt and naked Truth, and wrapping himſelf up in Diſguiſes and Reſerves, ſo as beſt to ſerve his purpoſe, might juſtifie me in the freedom of taking him at the *worſt*, where there is any place for a *double meaning*. [*He never engag'd againſt the Kings Perſon* (he ſays, *&c.*) Did not that Parliament, whoſe Cauſe, Doctrine, and Proceedings, *College* has ſo highly approved, ſay the ſame thing? And not only Diſclaim their being *AGAINST* the *Perſon* of the *late King*; but declare openly to the World, the greateſt Tenderneſs and Veneration for him that was poſſible? What ſhall we ſay then of *him* that ſpeaks *their very Words*, upon the *ſame Grounds*, and under the *ſame Circumſtances*; but that he has the *ſame Thoughts* alſo (which he in truth Confeſſes too) with thoſe, who under that pretence advanc'd a *Rebellion* againſt their *Sovereign*?

vereign? What does he mean again by ſaying that [*HE was not to have Seiz'd the King*, &c.] Is it that *He himſelf* was not to do it with his *own hands?* Or that the *Sovereignty* being lodg'd in the *Two Houſes*, his *PERSON* might be *Seiz'd*, and the *KING* remain untouch'd? There is another Sentence in the ſame Speech, that ſpeaks a little plainer yet. [*I did not underſtand* (ſays he) *but when I ſerv'd the* Parliament, *I ſerv'd the* King *too.*] Which in the Acceptation of *Forty* and *Forty-One*, ſounds as much as *King and Parliament* on the *one* ſide, in oppoſition to *Charles Stuart* on the *other.*

Now as to the Plot of Seizing the Perſon of the *King*, if the Witneſſes had not made it out accordingly to the very *Letter*, I ſhould rather have ſuſpected a deſign under the countenance of *Loyal Service*, to interpoſe a *Force* betwixt his *Majeſty* and *ſome Pretended Danger.* And this officious zeal to be follow'd with ſeizing half a dozen (perhaps) of his Majeſties moſt neceſſary *Miniſters* and *Friends.* And then a Proclamation immediately of ſome damned Helliſh *Plot*; a parcel of good Statutable *Knights of the Poſt* to make it good, and there had been the work done. This would have been no Ridiculous thing to imagine, if his Majeſty had not had over and above his *Guards*, the *Honour* and *Fidelity* of the *Two Houſes* of his *Security.*

There are a great many ſlippery Paſſages in *Colleges two Speeches* [*Had the Papiſts* (ſays he) *or* their Party *offer'd to deſtroy the Parliament, as was ſworn, and fear'd they would, I was there to have liv'd and dy'd with 'em.*]

Here's a Disjunction of the *Papiſts*, OR *their Party*; which I cannot tell what to make of, unleſs he ranges the Servants of the *King*, and the *Church* in a Confederate ſubſerviency to the *Papiſts*, which is but conſonant to what he has ſaid elſewhere. There is a doubtful Clauſe too in his

his *laſt Speech* [*Men* (ſays he, ſpeaking of the *Presbyterians*) *without any manner of deſign; but to ſerve God, ſerve his Majeſty, and* keep *their* Liberties *and* Properties.] Now *Colleges* way of *keeping his Property*, is to *Fight* for't, in caſe the *King* ſhould *Invade* it, as he profeſs'd to a Divine a little before his Execution: Beſide that the word [*KEEP*] ſeems to lean a little that way, eſpecially from a man that *firſt ſuppoſes* his *Property* to be *Invaded*; and *then declares* his reſolution to *reſiſt the King*, in caſe of ſuch *Invaſion*.

We ſhall now as briefly as may be, apply matter of *Fact* to the Capital parts of his *Charge*. The *Deſigning* of the Sculpture to his *Raree-Show* is prov'd upon him ſo point blank, that he himſelf had not the face to deny it: And *that Draught* made him as *Guilty of*, and as *Anſwerable for the Malicious intent of it*, as if the *Ballad* had been originally his *own*: His *Publiſhing* of it was a *further* Aggravation of the Crime; and the Pleaſure he took in *Singing* it up and down (as he did to ſeveral eminent Perſons of quality) and in *Expoſing* it, made all that was in it his own too. In that *Doggrel Copy* there is Chalk'd out the very Train of the whole *Conſpiracy*; and ſo plainly too, that it will not bear any other Conſtruction: As for example.

Help Cooper, Hughs *and* Snow, *with a Hey, with a Hey,*
To pull down Raree-Show, *with a Ho.*
So, ſo, the Gyant's down,
Let's Maſters *out of Pound,*
With a Hey Tronny Nony Nony No.

Here's firſt the *King* to be *pull'd down* (under the *Raree-Show*) and *Cooper*, *Hughs*, and *Snow* (being Officers belonging to both Houſes) are to repreſent the *Lords and Commons* in the *doing* of it; which reflects as odious a ſcandal

upon

upon the *Two Houſes* as upon his *Majeſty*. In the next place he ſuppoſes the *King* to be *down*; and to anſwer that phanſie, there are three Fellows in the *Plate*, lugging of him in the *Dirt*: And then follows [*Let's* Maſters *out of Pound:*] which is only to ſay, That now the *King* is *down*, the *Lords and Commons* are to take upon them the Adminiſtration of the *Government*. But let us ſee how he goes on.

And now y'ave freed *the Nation*, *with a Hey*, &c.
Cram in the Convocation, *with a Ho*;
With Penſioners, *All and ſome*
Into this Cheſt of Rome,
With a Hey, *&c.*

The *firſt line* here makes the *Freedom* of the *Nation* to enſue upon the *Depoſing* of the *King*. The *ſecond* ſends the *Convocation* after him. The *third*, all thoſe whom he is pleas'd to call *Penſioners:* And the *fourth* makes them all to be *Papiſts*. Here's the *King*, the *Convocation*, and the *Penſioners* gone already. Now ſee what's next.

And thruſt in Six and twenty, *with a Hey*, &c.
With Not Guilty, *good plenty*, *with a Ho:*
And Hoot them hence away,
To Cullen *or* Breda:

We have here the very *Track* of the Conſpiracy, as it was prov'd at his *Tryal*. The *Biſhop*'s are to be diſpatch'd away too, and the *Not Guilty-Lords*, in the Vote upon my Lord *Stafford*. And at beſt, to be all of them driven out of the Nation, as the *Late King* was, and a great part of his *Adherents*. We ſhall now conclude this point with the two laſt lines:

Halloe, the Hunts begun, with a Hey, &c.
Like Father, like Son, with a Ho, &c.

I

I have in my hand the *Manuſcript* of *Colleges own writing*, from whence this Ballad was Printed; where it is to be noted, that inſtead of *Halloe*, it was in the Original, *Stand to't*; but *that ſtruck out*, and *Halloe interlin'd* in the *place* of it; the other being too broad a diſcovery of the Violence they intended. Let me further obſerve, that this Song was Calculated for *Oxford*; that is to ſay, both for the *Time*, and the *Place*, *When*, and *Where* this Exploit was to have been executed. And now for a cloſe; What can be the meaning of *Like Father*, *like Son*; but a *deſign* and *encouragement* (as appears from the Connexion) to ſerve them *both alike*; and to conclude both *Father* and *Son*, under *one and the ſame Condemnation*.

The Faction did, without diſpute, flatter themſelves that they ſhould find Friends, even in the Parliament it ſelf, to Authorize them in their Enterprize; (but they were egregiouſly miſtaken it ſeems in their meaſures.) And they grounded their Hopes upon the Intereſt they had made in moſt places of the Kingdom to ſecure an Election for their turn. This Proſpect and Confidence does moſt notoriouſly appear in the contrivance of the *Raree-Show*, which in truth looks liker a Song of *Triumph*, as for a thing *already* done, then a bare *Project* and *Exhortation* toward the doing of it: Inſomuch that they have in this Ballad delineated the very *Scheme* of their Intentions. It is a thing very remarkable too, that the ſame Pulſe beats ſtill in all their Pamphlets of Appeal to the Multitude; which ſpeaks them clearly to be animated with the ſame ſouls, and directed to the ſame end. As *Vox Patriæ* for the purpoſe, (among forty others.) What is it, but under the Notion of *Petitions* and *Addreſſes*, in the name of the People of *England*, a certain *Compendium* of Inſtructions toward the Forming and carrying on of a *Conſpiracy?* This Libel lays out the very Model of the Plot, for which *College* was

Try'd, *Condemn'd*, and *Executed*. It preſcribes the Removal of *Councellors* and *Officers*, the ordering of the *Militia*, the Retrenching the Power of the *King*, the Diſſolving the Order of the Church, the ſetting all ſorts of Heretiques at liberty, the Calling and Continuing of Parliaments at the Peoples pleaſure. And all this Addreſs'd to the Commons in Parliament in ſuch a manner; as if his Majeſty were ſcarce worth Conſulting upon the matter; only inſtead of *Seizing the King*, and Governing *without* him, they have found out a way of giving their Repreſentatives ſome blind and general hints of what they would be at; and then honeſtly tell them, that *they'l ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes, let them do what they pleaſe.*

It is alſo a further Confirmation of this Plot, the Correſpondence betwixt Mr. *Fitz-Harris*'s *Declaration*, and the ſeveral Points given in Evidence againſt *College*.

Mr. Fitz Harris *declar'd that there was a deſign to Seize the King. Of this he ſpake often, and ſaid, when the Party had Seiz'd the King, they would have oblig'd him to call a Parliament, which ſhould ſit until the Bill of Excluſion againſt the Duke were paſs'd; all evil Councellors remov'd, and men of their Chuſing put into places of Truſt; the* Militia *ſettled, and the Navy put into Good hands; all Grievances Redreſs'd; and all things order'd to their own liking. And had this Deſign ſucceeded, he ſaid the Biſhops and others of the Clergy would have ſuffer'd ſeverely.* (*Dr.* Hawkins's Narrative, *Pag.* 4)

This Account of a Combination does not only Nick the ſeveral parts of the Evidence againſt *College*, but it does moſt exactly anſwer the Method of *One and forty*, which *College* juſtifies; and conſequently approves of the ſame thing over again in ſo doing.

Now Mr. Fitz-Harris *being demanded as a Dying man, whether this that he had declared concerning the Deſign to ſeize*

ſeize the King were true; He call'd God to witneſs that it was every word true.

And does not the Information againſt *George Wetheridge*, taken *September* 21. 1681. ſpeak as home to the ſame effect?

Is not the tyde ſtrangely turn'd (ſays he) *Were not the* Parliament men *at* Oxford, *and thoſe that were with 'em, (being to the number of* 40000 *men Arm'd) great Fools that they did not ſeize the King there? And if that they had wanted ſtrength* (ſays he) *I would have been one to have aſſiſted them: And that they ſhould have brought the King to* London, *to* Guild-Hall; *and there the Parliament ſhould have ſat, and have kept his Majeſty there till they had made their own Terms with him. And the ſame Information adds further, that* Wetheridge *ſaid* the King was a Papiſt; and had a deſign to bring in Popery and Arbitrary Power, *and Reign as the King of* France, *&c.*] To multiply Inſtances would be to over-do the thing that I pretend, wherefore this ſhall ſuffice.

If I were bent upon unneceſſary Cavils, I might enlarge my ſelf abundantly in farther Obſervations upon the Inſincerity both of *College* himſelf, and ſome of his Evidence, and prove that one of his prime Compurgators (how honeſt a man ſoever he reputed him in the Court) has more than once declar'd what warnings he had given him to have a care of his tongue; and that he talk'd at ſuch a deſperate rate, that it was not ſafe for any man to keep him company. *College's dying words are, that he rode his own Horſe, ſpent his own Money, and neither was invited, or had dependency on any perſon whatſoever:* When yet the People of the *Red Lyon* in *Henly* do affirm, that he and a Companion of his drank *one quart of raw Sack, one of Mull'd, one of Butter'd,* and then a *Pint* more of the *laſt*; beſide one Quart of *Butter'd Sack* in the Morning, which was all plac'd to the

Account of another Person. It will not become me to descant upon any Inconsistencies among *Colleges Evidences* at his Tryal, out of the Respect and Veneration that I both owe, and bear to the Honour of the Court, and to the Methods of Publique Justice: I could otherwise in the case of *Lun*, and even of Dr. *Oats himself*, find Mr. *Colleges* Advocates picking-work. Nay they were so hard put to't, that they brake in upon Justice *Warcup* himself; a Person that has been, even by themselves celebrated all along for his zeal in the Discovery of the Horrid Plot; a Person particularly Interessed by the Lords, in several Examinations; and by their Lordships particularly recommended to the King for his Faith and Sedulity in that great affair. But these People understand no other measures of Honesty, then as it squares with their designs. As to *Turbervile* and *Dugdale* (the two Principal Evidences) *College* himself had very little to say against them.

In one word, the matter is here plainly and nakedly set forth. The *Protestant Joyner* has left the World wholly at a loss for his *Religion*: He has both in his *Words* and *Practices* declar'd himself a deadly Enemy to the Government. His *last* Speech is a Compound of *Equivocations* and *Disguise*: He Justifies those that destroy'd the *late King*; and by the same reason he may justifie the same design upon *This*. To conclude, let the Reader judge upon what is here deliver'd, whether or no there was a Design against the King at *Oxford*; and how far *College* was engag'd in the *Conspiracy*.

THE END.